that severeign right, must be considered as a violathat severeign right, must be causifered as a violation of that common public law upon which your very existence rests, and which, being a common taw of all humanity, is by God himself placed under the safeguard of all humanity, because it is God himself who commands us to love our neighbor as we love ourselves, and to do toward others as we desire others to do toward ourselves.

Upon this point you cannot remain indifferent.—You may well remain neutral to every war between two beligerent tations, but you cannot remain indifferent to the violation of the common law of humanity. That indifference Washington has never taught on. I defy every man to show me out of the

That indifference Washington has never taught of dely every man to show me out of the leven volumes of Washington's writings, a single roof to that effect. He recommended neutrality in a case of foreign wars, but he never recommended indifference to the violation of the common laws faumanity, by interference of foreign powers with a correling right of national to dispose of them. sovereign right of nations to dispose of them-

And he could not have recommended this indifference without ceasing to be wise as he was, because there is, without justice, no wistom on earth. He could not have recommended it without becoming could not have recommended it without becoming inconsistent, because it was this common law of mankind which your forefathers invoked before God and mankind, when they proclaimed your independence. It was he himself, your great Washington, who not only accepted, but asked again and again foreign aid,—foreign help for the support of that common law of mankind, in respect to your own independence.

knowledge and instruction are so universally spread among the enlightened people of the United States the history of your country is such a house-hold science at the most lonely hearths of your re-motest settlements, that it may be sufficient for me motest settlements, that it may be sufficient for me to refer, in that respect, to the instructions and correspondence between Washington and the Minister at Paris,—the equally immortal Franklin,—the modest man, with the proud epitaph which tells the world that he wrested the lightning from Heaven, and the scepter from the tyrant's hands.

Thus I have proved, I believe, that Washington never bequeathed to you the principle of non-interference against the violation of the sovereign right of antions te dispose of themselves, and to regulate their own institutions; but he taught you only neutrality in respect to the wars of foreign nations.

i will go further. And I state that even that doctrine of neutrality he taught and bequeathed to you, sot as a constitutional principle—a lasting regulation for all future time, but only as a matter of temporary trefer in that respect to the very words of sot as a constitutional principle—a listing regulation for all future time, but only as a matter of temporary policy. I refer in that respect to the very words of its Farewell Address. There he states expiticitly, that "it is your policy to stear clear of permanent elliances with any portion of the foreign world." These are his very words. Policy is the word, and you now policy is not the science of principles, but of exigencies: and that principles are of course, by a free and powerful nation, never to be surficed to exigencies. The exigencies are passing away, like the bubbles of a rain, but the nation is immortal, it must consider the future also, and not only the egolistical comfort of the passing hour. It must be aware that to an immortal nation, nothing can be of higher importance than immortal principles.

I will go yet further, and state that even this policy of neutrality Washington taught you, not as a perment rule, but as a temporary convenience. I prove it again by referring to the very words of his Farewell Address, when he, in reference to his policy of neutrality, explicitly says, that "with him (Washington) a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to your country to settle and mature its institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it the command of site own fortunes." These are highly memorable words, gentlemen. Here I take my ground, and casting a glance of admiration over your glorious and loon fleatily ask you, gentlemen, are your insti-

memorable words, gentlemen. Here I take my ground, and casting a glance of admiration over your glorious fand, I confidently ask you, gentlemen, are your institutions settled and matured, or are they not I Are you, or are you not, come to that degree of strength and consistency to be the masters of your own fortunes?

Oh, my God' how I thank thee for having given me the glorious view of this country's greatness, which answers this question for me?

Yes! you have attained that degree of strength and consistency when your less fortunate brethren

and consistency when your less fortunate brethren in mankind may well claim your brotherly, protect-

ing hand.
And here I stand before you, to plead the cause of these, your less fortunate brethren-the cause of humanity. I may succeed, or I may fail. But I will go on, pleading with that faith of martyrs, by which mountains were moved; and I may displease you, perhaps; still I will say with Luther, "May God help me—I can do no otherwise!"

One word more to prove that Washington never attached to his doctrine of neutrality more than the sense of temperary policy. I refer to one of his letters, written to La Fayette wherein he says — "Let us only have teenly years of peace, and our country will come to such a degree of power and wealth that we will be able in a just cause, to defy whatever power on earth!"

"In a just cause!" Now in the name of eternal truth, and by all that is sacred and dear to man; "In a just cause!" Now in the name of eternal truth, and by all that is sacred and dear to man; since the history of mankind is recorded, there has been no cause more just than the cause of flungary! Never was there a people without the slightest reason, more sacrilegiously, more treacherously, and by fouler means, attacked, than thungary! Never has crime, cursed ambition, despousm, and violence, in a more wicked manner, unsted to crush down freedom, and the very life, than against Hungary! Never was a country more mostally offended than Hungary is. All your sufferings, all your complaints, which, with so much right drove your fore-lathers to take up arms, are but slight grievances in comparison with those immense, deep wounds, out of which the heart of Hungary bleeds! If the cause of my people is not sufficiently just to insure the protection of God, and the support of good willing men, then there is no just cause and no justice on earth. Then the blood of no new Abel will move toward Heaven. The genus of charity, Christian love and justice will mourningly fly the earth; a heavy curse will upon morality fall—oppressed men despair, and only the Cains of humanity walk proudly with impious brow, about the ruins of Liberty on earth!

I have shown, gentlemen, that Washington has never bequeathed to his country the doctrine of not

e shown, gentlemen, that Washington has equeathed to his country the doctrine of not never bequeathed to his country the doctrine of net caring about the violation of international law,—has not bequeathed the doctrine of indifferentism to his countryman, but only neutrality. I have shown that these two ideas are essentially different. I have shown that even the doctrine of neutrality he bever intended to recommend to his countryman as a lasting constitutional principle, but only as a measure of temperary policy, advisable until the United States should progress in strength and consistency, to which each he judged twenty years to be sufficient,—after which he himself declared to be resolved to espouse any just cause. Now allow me briefly to conider how your policy has been developed in the course of time, with respect to the principle of non-intervention in foreign concerns.

pouse any just cause. Now allow the course of time, with respect to the principle of nonintervention in foreign concerns.

I will only recall to your memory the message of
President Monroe, when he clearly stated that the
United States would take up arms to protect the
American Spanish Colonies, now free Republics,
should the so-called Holy trather unboly) Alhance
make an attempt either to aid Spain to reduce the
new American Republics to their ancient colonial
state, or to compet them to adopt political systems
more conformable to the policy and views of that
Alliance. I entreat you to mark well, gentlemen, not
make the forced introduction of Monarchical Governments, but in general the interference of foreign powers in the contest for independence of the Spanish
Colonies, was declared sufficient motive for the
United States to protect the natural right of those
nations to dispose of themselves.

I beg leave to desire you to remember that this
declaration of President Monroe was not only approved and confirmed by the people of the United
States in the declaration of this decision and this
policy.

I further recall to your memory the instructions

Policy.

I further recall to your memory the instructions given in 1826 to your Envoys to the Congress of Pan-ama, Richard Anderson and John Sergeant, where it is clearly stated that the United States would have opposed, with their whole force, the inter-ference of Continental Powers with that struggle for

adependence.

It is true, that this declaration to go even to war,
to protect the independence of foreign States against
the independence, was not only restricted to the It is true, that this declaration to go even to war, to protect the independence of foreign States against foreign interference, was not only restricted to the Continent of America, but President Monroe delares in his message that the United States can have no concern in European struggles, being distant and separated from Europe by the great Atlantic Ocean.

But I beg leave to remark that this indifference to European concerns is again a matter, not of princi-le but of temporary ergency—the motives of which are, by the lapse of time, entirely disappeared— so much that the balance even turned to the oppo-

so much that the balance even alte side. President Monroe mentions distance as a motive President Monroe mentions distance as a motive President Monroe mentions distance as a mouve the above-stated distinction. Well, since the proigious development of your Fulton's glorious inunition, distance is blotted out of the dictionary—or 
ther replaced by the word time. Distance is no 
ore calculated by miles, but by hours. And being 
o, Europe is of course less distant from you than 
be greater part of the American Continent. But, 
it even the word distance be taken in its nominal 
enters. Furnacia market for you than the greatest

President Monroe's second motive is, that you are sparaled from Europe by the Atlantic. Now, at the recent time, and in the present condition of navigation, the Atlantic is no separation; but rather a consecting benefit, the facilitating source of that consecting benefit, the facilitating source of that consecting benefit, the facilitating source of that consecting the second intercourse which brings the interests of thrope home to you, connecting you with it with very the of moral as well as material interest.

every the of moral as well as material interest. It is chicfly in New-York that I feel induced to speak so, because New-York is by innumerable ties connected with Europe, more connected than several parts of Europe itself.

It is the agricultural interest of this great country, which chiefly wants an outlet, and a market. Now it is far more Europe thus the American Continent to which you have to look, in that respect. This very circumstance cannot allow you to remain indiscent to the fate of freedom on the European Continent, because, be sure, geatlemen, and let me have spoken this chiefly to the gentlemen of trate, chould absolutism gain ground in Europe, it will—a must, make every possible obstacle to the commercial intercourse of Republican America, because commercial intercourse is the most powerful

Incomptine of principles; and be sure the victory of Absolutism on the European Continent will in no quester have no more injurious national consequences, than in the vast extent of your agricultural and commercial interests.

Then, why not prevent it,—while yet there is a possibility to do so with none, or comparative small.

possibility to do so with none, or comparative small sacrifices, rather than to abide that fatal catastrophe, and to mourn the immense sacrifices it would then

Even in political considerations now a day:

have stronger motives to feel interested in the fate of Europe, then even in the fate of the central or southern parts of America. Whatever may happen southern parts of America. Whatever may happen in the institutions of these parts, you are two powerful to see your own institutions affected by it. But let Europe become absolutistical,—as without the restoration of Hungary to its independence, and the freedom of Italy so strongly connected with Hungary, to be sure it will—and your children will see those words, which your National Government spoke in 1827, fulfilled on a larger scale than they were meant, that "the absolution of Europe will not be appeared "notile enery vestige of human freedom hat been ob "literated even here." And oh! do not rely too fondly upon your power. It is great, to be sure. You have not to fear whatever single power on earth, but ly upon your power. It is great, to be sure. You have not to fear whatever single power on earth; but look to history. Ancient Rome has fallen, and mighty empires have vanished from earth. Let not the enemies of freedom grow too strong. Victorious over Europe, and then united, they would be too strong even for you! And be sure, they hate you with an infernal hatred. They must hate you even more than me. They consider you as their most dangerous opponents. Absolutism cannot tranquilly sleep while the Republican principle has such a mighty representative as your country is.

Yes, gentlemen, it was the fear from the political reaction of absolutistic principles, which induced your great statesmen—that principle which they professed for Central and Southern America, not to extend to Europe also, and by no means the pub-

your great statesmen—that principles, which they professed for Central and Southern America, not to extend to Europe also, and by no means the publicly avowed feeble motives. Every manifestation of your public life out of those times, shows that I am right to say so. Europe's nations were, about 1823, in such a degraded situation that indeed you must have felt anxious not to come into any political contact with that pestilential atmosphere of Europe, when, as Mr. Clay said in 1818, in his speech about the emanetization of South America, "Paris was transferred to St. Petersburg."

But scarcely has, within a year later, the Greek nation come in its contest to an important standing, which gave you hope that the spirit of freedom is waking again, and at once you abandoned your principle of political indifference for Europe. Iou know how your Clays and your Websters spoke, as if really they were speaking for my very case. You know how your citizens acted in behalf of that struggle for liberty, in that part of Europe, which is more distant than Hungary and again, when Poland fell, you know what spirit pervaded the United States.

So I have shown you how Washington's doctrine of perfect neutrality in your foreign relations has by-end-by changed into the declaration to oppose, with all your forces, absolutistical Europe, in interfering with the indedendence or republican institutions of Central and Southern America. I have shown you why this manly resolution was not extended then to Europe. I have shown you the turther differences between your present convenience and that of the time of President Monroe—not less important than those between Monroe's and Washington's time. But one mighty difference I must still commemorate. That is, that your population has, since Monroe's time, nearly doubled, I believe, at least increased by millions. And what sort of men are these millions! Are they only native born Americans! No! European emigrants they are, man, who, though citizens of the United States, are by the most sacred time

are these millions! Are they only native born Americans! No! European emigrants they are, msn, who, though citizens of the United States, are by the most sacred ties of relationship attached to Europe's fate. That is a consideration worthy of the reflection of your calmest and wisest men, who after calm reflection, must agree with me, that in your present condition you are at least as much interested in the fate of Europe, as your fathers twenty-eight years ago declared themselves interested in the fate of Europe, as your fathers twenty-eight years ago declared themselves interested in the fate of Central and Southern America. And really so it is. The unexampled, immense, prodigious sympathy for the cause of my country which I met with in the United States provos that it is so. Your general interference with the Turkish captivity of the Governor of Hungary, proves that it is so. And this development, rather than change in your foreign policy; is not even more an instinctive ebuilition of public opinion, which is called by and by to impart a direction to your National Governmental policy; the direction is already imparted, and the opinion of the people is already an avowed principle of the policy of the Government.

I have as good, I have a most decisive authority, to rely upon in saying so. It is the Message of the President of the United States, His Excellency, Millard Fillmore, communicated to the Congress, a few days ago; there I read the paragraph.—The deep interest which we feel in the spead of liberal principles, and the establishment of free governments, and the sympathy with which we witness every struggle against oppression, forbid that we should be indifferent to a cause in which the strong arm of a foreign power is invoked to stifle public sentiment and repress the spirit of freedom in any commity. Now, gentlemen, here is the ground which I take for my carnest endeavors to benefit the cause of Hungary. I have early respectually on ask, its a principle which the public opinion of the people of the Uni ity. God forbid that I should feel the impertinent arregance to think so, therefore I take the principle of your policy as I find it established, without any interference, and I come in the name of oppressed humanny to claim the natural, logical, unavoidable, exertised consecutors of your own freely chosen

inactical consequences of your own freely chosen whole world, the right to claim the realization of these world, the right to claim the realization of the United States have chosen out of your own accord, to raise in the bosom of two countrymen and of oppressed humanity. You will excuss me, gentlemen, for having dwelt so long about that principle of non-interference with European measures, but I have found this rock thrown in my way when I spoke of what I humbly request from the United States. I have been charge to have the arrogeance to change your existing policy, and an in one speech, I of course common exhaust the whole mighty completion of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission, I choose for the present opposite of my mission of my mission, I choose for the mission of my mission of my mission, I choose for the mission of my mission of my mission of the choose of the mission of the mission of the mission of my missi

we as a nation have precisely the same interest in international law as a private individual has in the laws of his country."

You see, gentiemen I had again a good authority to quote. The principle which your honorable Secretary of War professes is a principle of eternal truth. No man can disavow it—no political party can disavow it.—no political party can disavow it.—no political party can disavow it.—no the happy condition to address my humble prayers in that respect, not to a party, but to the whole people of the United States, which I will go on to do so long as I have no reason to contempate one party opposite or indifferent to my country's cause, because eise of course I would have to address those who are friends, and not those who are either indifferent or antago istic. But it may be from some indifferent or antago istic. But it may be from some quarters avowed. "Well, we acknowledge the justice of that principle of every nation's sovereign right—we acknowledge it to be a law of nations that no foreign power has a right to interfere in the affairs of another, and we are determined to respect this common law of mankind, but if others do not respect that law it is not our business to meddle with them." Let me other, and we are determined to respect this common law of mankind, but if others do not respect that law it is not our business to meddle with them." Let me answer by an analysis: "Every nation has the same interest in the international career, as a private individual has in the laws of his country." That is an acknowing ged principle of the United States. Consequently every nation is, in respect to international law, precisely in the same condition as a private individual is in respect to the laws of his country. Well, where is the condition of a private individual in respect to the laws of his country! Is it only that he has himself not to violate the law or is it that so far as is in his power he should also prevent others to violate the law! Suppose you see that a wiched man is about to rob—to murder your neighbor, or to burn his house, will you wrap yourself in your own virtuous lawfulness, and say, "I don't rob—don't murder—don't burn, but what others do is not my business. I am not my brother's keeper. I sympathize with him: but I am not obliged to help him that he may not be robbed, murdered, or burnt." What honest man of the world would answer so! None of you. None of the people of the United States, I am sure. That would be the damned maxim of the Pharisees of old, who thanked God that they were not as others were. Our Saviour was not content to go himself treading in the hall of the temple, but he had driven outthose who were treading there. Now, what the duty of an individual is in respect to the laws of his country, the same duty has a nation, in respect to international law. This duty has no other limit, but only the power to fulfill it. Of course, it cannot be expected that the Republic of St. Marino, or the Prince of Modena refused to recognize the government of Louis Philippe—but "to whom much is given, will much be expected from him." or the Prince of Merocce, should stop the Czar of Russia in his ambitious annoyance. It was ridiculous when the Prince of Modena refused to recognize the government of Louis Philippe—but "to whom much is given, will much be expected from him," says the Lord. And every condition has not only its rights, but also its own desires, and any which is in the condition to be a power on earth has the duy to consider himself as a part of the executive power of markind called to maintain the law of nations. Woe, a thousand-fold woe to humanity, should there nobody on earth be to maintain the laws of humanity. Woe, a thousand-fold woe to humanity, should even those who are as mighty as they are free not feel interested in the maintenance of the laws of mankind—because they are laws—but only in so far as some scanty money interests would desire it. Woe to humanity, if every despot of the world may dare to trample down the laws of humanity and no free nation arises to make respected those laws. People of the United States, humanity expects that your glorious republic will prove to the world, that republics are founded on virtue—it expects to see you the guardians of the laws of humanity. Well, I will come to the last possible objection. I may be told, "You are right in your principles, your cause is just, and you have our sympathy; but after all we cannot go to war for your country; we cannot fight your battle for you." There is the rub. Who can exactly tell what would have been the issue of your own struggle for indepence, though your country was in a far happier geographical position than we poor Hungarians, should France have given such an answer to your forefathers in 1778 and 1781, instead of sending to your aid a fleet of thirty eight men of war, and, auxiliary troops, and 24,000 muskets, and aloan of nineteen millions. And what is far more than all this, does it not show that France resolved with all its power to espouse the cause of your independence! But, perhaps, I will be told that France did this not out of love to-day than France was from a mercy years ago! However, I most solemnly declare that at is not my intention to rely literally upon this example. It is not my wish to entangle the United States in war, or to engage your great people to send out armies and fleets to restore Hungary to its sovereign independence. Not at all gentlemen; I most solemnly declare that I never entertained such expectations, such hopes, and here I come to the practical control.

comity declare that it never entertained such expectations, such hopes, and here I come to the practical point.

The principle of evil in Europe is the enervating spiritor Russian absolutism. It is upon this reset the daring boloness of every petty tyrant to trample upon oppressed nations, and to crush down liberty. To this Moloch of ambition has failen a victim my poor rative land. It is this with which Montalembert threatens the French republicans. It is Russian intervention in Hungary which governed French in tervention in Rune, and gave the temerity to German tyrants to crush down all the endeavors for freedom and unity in Germany. The despots of the European continent are lesqued against the freedom of the world. That is a matter of fact. The second matter of fact is that the European continent is on the eve of a new revolution. It is not necessary to be initiated in the secret preparations of the European democracy to be aware of that approaching contingency. It is pointed out by the French Constitution itself, prescribing a new Presidential election for the next spring. Now, suppose that the ambition of Louis Napoleon, encouraged by Russian secret aid, awaits this time, (which I scarcely believe.) and suppose that there will be a peaceful solution; such as would make contented the friends of Republican Frence, of course the first act of the new French of Louis Napoleon, encouraged by Russian secret aid, awaits this time, (which I scarcely believe.) and suppose that there will be a peaceful solution, such as would make contented the friends of Republican France. of course the first act of the new French President must be, at least, to recall the French troops from Rome. Nobody can doubt that a revolution will follow, if not precede this recall in lialy. Or if there is no peaceful solution in France, but a revolution, then every man knows that whenever the heart of France botts up, the pulsation is felt throughout Europe, and oppressed nations once more rise, and Russia again meriferes. Now I humbly ask, with the view of there circumstances before my eyes, can it be convenient to such a great power as this Republic, to await the very outbreak and then only to discuss and decide what direction you will be willing to take in your foreign policy? It may come again, as under the last President, at a late hour, agents to see how matters stood in Hungary. Russian interference and treason achieved what the sacrilegious Hapsburg dynasty failed to achieve. You know the old words, "while Rome debated, Byzantium fell." So I respectfully entreat the people of the United States, in time, to express its will as to what course it wishes to be pursued by its National Government in the case of the approaching events I have mentioned. And I most confidently hope that there is only one course possible, consistent with the above recorded principles. If you acknowledge the right of every nation to alter its institutions and sovernment—if you acknowledge the interference of foreign powers in that sovereign right to be a violation of the law of nations, as you really do—it you are forbiden to remain indifferent to this violation of international law, as your President openly professes that you are, then there is no that owaits wanted to that effect? It is wanted, that being aware of the precarious condition of Europe, your National Government should so soon as possible send instruct

States, acknowledging the sovereign right of every nation to dispose of its own domestic concerns, have resolved not to interferere, but also not it to interfere whatever foreign power with this sovereign right, in order to repress the spirit of freedom in any country. Consequently, to invite the Cabinet of St. James to unite with the United States in this policy, and to declare that the United States in this policy, and to declare that the United States in this policy, and to declare that the United States in this policy, and to declare that the United States in this policy, and to declare that the United States in the European continent, which is impossible not to foresee. If the citizens of the United States, instead of honoring me with the offers of their hospitality, would be pleased to express this their will, by passing convenient resolutions, and ratifying them to their National Government—if the people by all constitutional means—if the independent press would hasten to express the public opinion in a similar sease—if in consequence of this, the National Government would instruct its Minister in England accordingly, and by a convenient communication to the Congress, give so as it is wont to do, publicity to this his step, I am entirely sure that you would find the people of Great Britain heartily joining this cirection of policy—nebody in the world could feel especially offended by it, and no existing relation; would be broken or injured, and still the interference of Russia in the restoration of Hunsary to its independence (formally declared in 1849) prevented—Russian arrogance and preponderance checked, and the oppressed rations of Europe soon become free. There may be some over anxious men who perhaps would say, " But if such a declaration of your Government will not be respected, and Russia still does interfere, then you would the leaven bears at the first will be sincertion will be respected—Russia will too interfere—you will have no occasion for war, you will have prevented war. Be sure Russia wi nation to dispose of itsown domestic concerns, have

tion, not to admit any interference of the Enropean Absolutistical powers, into the affairs of the formerly Spanish Colonies of America, and has this declaration brought you to a war! Quite the contrary, it has prevented war—so it would be in our case also. Let me therefore most humbly entreat you, gentlemen—let meentreat you on this occasion by the meens of publicity—the people of the Uarted States to be p'ensed to give such practical direction to its generous sympathy for Hangary, as to arrange meetings and pass such resolutions here and there, and in every pessible place of this great Union, as I took the liberty to mention above. Why not do so! I beg leave to reiterate what I had the honor-to-say yesterday to a Committee of Baltimore. Suppose there should in Coba a revolution occur, a revolution from the inhabitants of Cuba themselves, and whatever European power would send down a fleet to support Spain against this revolution, would you admit this foreign mitervention in a foreign country! I am confident there is not one in the United States who would not oppose this intervention. Then what is the difference between this supposed case whatever European power would send down a fleet to support Spain against this revolution, would you admit this foreign intervention in a foreign country? I am consident there is not one in the United States who would not oppose this intervention. Then what is the difference between this supposed case and the case of Hungary? Is there a difference is that Cuba is at six cays distance from New-Ork, and the port of Hungary (Fume) at eighteen days distance. That is all; and who would afform that the policy of such a great, free and giorious nation as the United States shall be regulated by hours and not by principles. Allow me to remark that there is an immense truth in that which the French legation in the United States erpressed to your Government, in an able rote of 27th October pat, which I beg leave to quote: "America is closely connected with Europe, being only experted from the latter by a distance accarcely exceeding eight days' journey, by one of the most important of general interests—the interest of commerce. The nations of America and Europe are at this day so dependent upon one another, that the effects of any event, prosperous or otherwise, happening on one side of the Atlantic, are immediately felt on the other side. The result of this community of interests, commercial, political and moral, between Europe and Amorica—of this frequency and rapidity of intercourse between them, is that it becomes as difficult to point out the geographical degree where American policy shall terminate and European policy begin, as it is to trace out the line where American commerce begins and European commerce terminates. Where may be said to begin or terminate the ideas which are in the ascendant in Europe and in America." The second measure which I beg leave to ment on has reference to commerce is shut out; or if down-tred-fen Venice, bleeding Lombardy, or my down-oppressed but resolute Hungary, rises to shake off the Austrian tyrant's yoke, as surely they will, that tyrant believes to have the right from the point of

and territory, and have allowed the agents of both to procure within their jurisdiction, in the way of sawful trade, any supplies which suited their convenience." Now, gentlemen, this is the principle which humanity expects, for your own and for minkind's benefit to see maintained by you, and not yonder fatal course, which admits to tyrants to draw from your country whatever supply of oppression against their nuticus, but forbids to nations to buy the means of defense. That was not the principle of your Washington; when he speaks of harmony, of friendly intercours and of peace, he always takes care to speak of nations and not of governments—still less of tyrants, cons and of peace, he always takes care to speak of nations and not of governments—still less of tyrants, who subdue rations by foreign arms. The sacred word of nation, with all its natural rights, should, at least, of your political cictionary, not to be blotted out; and yet I am sorry to see that the word nation is replaced by the word government. Gentlemen, I humbly wish that public opinion of the people of the United States, conscious of its own rights, should highly and resolutory declare that the people of the United States will carry on trade and continue its commercial intercourse with whatever nation, be that nation in revolution against its oppressors or not; and that the people of the United States express, with confidence from its Government, to provide for the protection of your trade. I am confident that your National Government, seeing public opinion so pronounced, will judge it convenient to augment your naval forces in the Mediterrane an, and to look for some such station for it which would not force the Navy of Republican America to such abroguings toward tyrants, which cannot be consistent with Republican principles or Republican dentity.

force the Navy of Republican America to such a 373gations toward tyrants, which cannot be consistent
with Republican principles or Republican dignity,
only because the King so-so, be he even the cursed
King of Naples, gran's you the favor of an inchoringprace for the navel force of your Republic.
Here your glorious country should every where freely unfurl the star spangico banner of therty with all
als congenial principles, and not make itseif dependent on whatever respect of the glorious smiles of the
Kings Bombaste Compagne. The third object of
my hundre wishes, gentlemen, is the recognition
of the independence of Hungary. Your glorious
declaration of independen e proclaims the right of
every ration to assume among the powers of the
laws of nature and nature's God entitle them. The
political assistance of your glorious Republic is
founded upon this principle, upon this right. My
nation stands upon the same ground, and there is a
striking resemblance between your cause and that
of my country. On the 4th Juny, 1776, John Adams
spoke such in your Congress, "Sink or swim, live
or die, survive or perish, I am for tais declaration."
It is in the beginning we arrived not at independence, but "there is a divinity which shapes our It is in the beginning we arrived not at independence, but "Here is a divinity which shapes our ends." These whole words were present to my mind on the 14th of April, 1849, when I moved the Declaration of independence in the National Assembly of Hungary. Our condition was the same, and if there be any difference I dare say it is in favor of ourselves. Your country was before this declaration not a self-consisting, independent State. Hungary was. Through the lapse of a thousand years, through every vicissitue of this long period, while nations vanished and empires fell, the self-consisting independence of Hungary was never disputed but recognized by all powers of the earth, sinctioned by treaths made with the Hapsburg Dynasty, when this dynasty, by the free will of my nation, and by a bilateral part was invested with the kingly crown of Hungary. Even more, this independence of king was acknowledged to make a part of the international law of Europe, and was guaranteed not only by the foreign European govoriments, such as Great Britain, but also by several of those, when yet constitutional islates, which belonged formerly to the Germar, and, after its dissolution, to the Austrian Empire. This independent concition of Hungary is clearly defined in one of our fundamental laws of 191, in these words. "Hungary is a tree and independent from country in the world." This, therefore, was our ancient right. We were not dependent from, nor a part of, the Austrian Empire, as your country was dependent from Engiand. It was clearly defined in one of our fundamental laws of hold, and the only tie between us and Austria was, that we exceed, to be our kings, the same dynasty which were also the sovereigns of Austria, and occupied the same time of hereditary succession of our kings, the same dynasty which were also the sovereigns of Austria, and occupied the same time of hereditary succession of our kings, the same dynasty which were also the sovereigns of Austria. Bud occupied the same time of hereditary succession of our kings, It is in the beginning we arrived not at indepen-dence, but "there is a divinity which shapes our

cording to our constitutionally established authorities. We would not belong to the Austrian Empire, because that empire did not exist while Hungary did already nearly two years exist, and exist some two hunored and eighty years under the government of that Empourpian dynasty. The Austrian Empire, as you know, was only established in 1806, when the Rheinish Confederacy of Nopoleon struck the death blow to the German Empire, of which Francis II. of Austria, was not hereditary, but elected Emperor. That Hungary had belonged to the German Empire, that is a thing which no man in the world ever imagined yet. It is only now when the Hapsburgian tyrant professes the intention to melt Hungary into the German Confederation; but you know this intention to be in so striking opposition to the European public law, that England and France solemnly protested against this intention which is not carried out even to day. The German Empire having died, its late Emperor Francis, also King of Hungary, has established the Austrian Empire in 1806, but even in that fundamental charler of the new established Austrian Empire, he solemnly declared that Hungary and its annexed provinces are not intended, and will not make a part of the Austrian Empire is Subsequently we entered with this empire into the German Confederation of 1805, but Hungary, as well as Lombardy and Venice, not making part of the Austrian Empire, remailed again separated, and were not entered into the confederacy. The laws which I succeeded to carry in 1848, did, of course, nothing alter in that old chartered condition of Hungary. We transformed the peasanty into freeholders, free proprietors, abolished feudal incumbrances. We replaced the political privileges of aristocracy by the common interty of the whole people; gave political representation to the people into the legislature, transformed the political privileges of aristocracy by the common interty of the whole people abolished the immunity of taration of the mobility, secured equal religious liberty to all, secu

way interfere with our allegisnes to the King, and were carried lawridly in poscoful localisation, with the sanction of the King. Besidesthis, there was one other thing which was carried. We were formerly governed by a Board of Council, which had the express duty to govern according to sure laws, and be responsible for doing so; but we saw by long experience that his resposibility is an empty sound, because a corporation cannot really be responsible; and lette was the reason why the resolutistical tendency of the dynasty succeded to estroach upon our liberty. So we replaced the Board of Coancil by Ministers, the empty responsibility of a Board by the individual responsibility of men—and the King coancilled to it. Invisel was named by him Minister of the Treasury. That is all. But precisely here was the rub. The trant could not bear the idea that I would not give to his ambitionary disposal the life-sweat of my people, he was not contented with the \$1.50. (to) Lans which we generously appropriated to him yearly. He would have his hands in our pockets, and he could not bear the idea that he shall never more be at liberty to dispose without ary courted of our brave army, and to crush down the spirit of freedom in the world. Therefore, he resorted to the most outrageous conspiracy, and attacked us by arms, and by a false report of a victory within never was won, issued a proclamation declaring that Hungary shall not more exist—that its Independence, its Constitution, its very existence is abquished, and it shall be melted, like a farm of fold, into the Austrian Empire. To this we answered, "Thou shalt not exist, tyrant, but we will," and we banished him, and issued the Declaration of our Independence when it was yet very doubtful if you would be successful. We declared ours when we, in legitimate defense, were already victorious, when we had beaten our entities, and so try for a him to exist, by an another similar difference of the undependent posture of the mannous of its even how. There imprendence, had so the ea way interfere with our allegiance to the King, and of its womed public life, to declare that, acknowledging the legitimate character of the Declaration of Independence of Hungary, it is anxious to greet Hungary among the independent powers of the earth, and invite the Government of the United States to receptize this independence at the earliest convenient time. That is all. Let me see the principle announced: the rest may well be left to the wirdom of your Government, with tome confidence in my own respectful discretion also. And so, gentlemen, I have respectfully stated what are my humble requests to the sovereign people of this country, in its public and political capacity. It is that the people of the United States may be pleased, by all constitutional means, to declare—First, that, feeling interested in the maintenance of the laws of nations, acknowledging the sovereign right of every people to dispose of its own domestic concerns to be one of these laws, and the interference with this sovereign right to be a violation of these laws of nations. He people of the United States—resolved to respect and to make respected these public laws—declares the Russian past intervention in Hungary ts be a violation of these laws, which, if retierated, would be a new revolution, and would not be regared inoufferently by the people of the United States—that you, therefore, invite your Government to act accordingly, and so invite Great Britain to unite with the United States in this policy. Second, that the people of the United States is resolved to main tain its right of commercial intercourse with the nations of Europe, whether they be in a state of lovelintion against their Governments or not—and that with the view of approaching scenes on the Continent of Europe, the people invites the Government to take appropriate measures for the protection of the trade of the people on the Mediterranean, and third, that the people of the United States is reproduced to a solution and beneficial thing, if those generous men who sympathize with the example of the United States is reall

then rely, for myself and family on foreign and, but, for myself for door. (Great cheering.) Genicients I mean financial aid, money to assist the cause of freedom, and independence of Hungary. I took the advice of some kind friends, if a be lawful to express such an humble request, because I feel the honorable duty, mether to offend, nor to evade your laws. I am told it is lawful. There are two means to see this, my humble wish, accomplished. The first is from spontaneous subscription, to put the offerings of kind friends at my disposal, for the benefit of my country's cause. The second is a loan. As to this foan, that is a business of a more private nature, which, to be carried on in an appropriate way, requires private consultation in a more close circle. So here I only mention that if there are such generous men who are willing to enter into the idea, provided it will be arranged in an acceptable way, I would most humbly entreat them to enter into a private communication about the subject with him, and secondly, texpress my conviction that even this matter of loan comid be efficiently promoted by the other measure of free, grantinious subscriptions, which would afford me the means necessary for the practical initiation of the loan libed. Now, as to these subscriptions. The icea was brought home to my mind by a plain but very generous letter which I and the honor to receive, and which I beg to read. It is as follows.

M. Louis Kosstin, Governor of Hungary—1812. These company, in Rew Posperificily yours, W. SIEAD.

M. Louis Kosstin, Governor of Hungary—1812. The convex may pethaps to many who would give their small share to the gentlemen, for his ample aid, and the delicate manner in which he offered it, and it came to my pure the principles of freed it, and it came to my mind the activate way to the proper of the Ond years, we will be a formed by an interest of the proper of the proper

ts cause.
This speech was interrupted with frequent bursts of applause, and its conclusion was the signal for prolonged rounds of cheering. After this had subsided, the next toast was given: The Guest of the Nation—The man of the sge—culls tried in wireless—misfortune tests his greatness—his glory whits upon the deliverance of his country.

upon me by the Committee of the Common Council to respend to the sentiment just nitered, because I am thos afforded an opportunity to add my rill to the torrent of enthusasm which flows through this hall at the presence of our distinguished quest, and at the mention of the country which he loves and serves so well.

In performing this grateful task, I shall not be so superfluous as to dwell with any minuteness upon the events which attended her struggle for free long, or the acts which have marked his creer, and given him so strong a hold on our affections; so powerful a claim to our sympathy. There is 1.4 one in this company, scarcely one in the while country to whom they are not familiar. His decis, like those of our Washington, are written on the world's wide passe, and enseaved on the freeheart of every land. But I should not be doing justice a your feelings or my own, if I did not passe to give therance to the acmiration of his views and the sempany for his cause, which I know so well bests in very heart that is sround me.

acmusation of his views and the sympany for his cause, which I know so well beats in very heart that its sround me.

The views which thus elicit our percent that its sround me.

The views which thus elicit our percent in the its sround me.

The views which thus elicit our percent in the its stock of the Revolution, which are instilled into us in our infancy, and which accompany out through manhood to the grave, that we can almost imagine that he was born and instructed an American citizen.

The liberty which he advocates is not that again fathers which some pursue—the right to cut our neighbor's throat or rob him of his property, but that with which we are so familiar, it eright of high and low, of rich and poor, of the we and the feeble alike to pursue their own happin as in their own way, without interference with or neighbor's throat or sufficient without interference with or neighbor shifting the fetters from our limbs. It contemplates something more than merely striking the fetters from our limbs. I contemplate something more than merely striking the fetters from our limbs. I contemplate something more than merely striking the fetters from our limbs. I contemplate something more than merely striking the fetters from our limbs. I contemplate something more than merely striking the fetters from our limbs. I contemplate something more than merely striking the fetters from our limbs.

It contemplates something more than merely striking the fetters from our limbs.

It contemplates something more than merely striking the fetters from our limbs.

It contemplates something more than merely striking the fetters from our limbs.

It contemplates the progress at advancement of men to his due position as the helest and merely striking the fetters from our limbs.

After periling for his country's connection and that was dear to him as a man, are escaping the death and dungeons which, like pleutin hounds, haunted his footsteps, until he fours fruge under our flag, he might have sought a see and obscure retrat, and have a

retreat, and have solicred the impedding storm to pass innoxious over him. But such was not his choice. Hazarding again all that he sad saved from the ruin which overwhelmed him sind his country alike, he has gone forth into the high stays of astrong, an Apostic of Liberty, to preach her holy cause. Holding her emblem aloft, and with her cross emblazoned on his shoulder, he proclaims throughout Christendom a crusade against tyrar y and oppreasion. His stirring eloquence strikes a chord to which every free heart responds, and he is awakening the might which slumbers in the people's arm. God grant that he may yet return to the Palestine of his affections, attended by such hordes of followers, as will enable him to wipe the desilement of inadel despotism frem the holy sepulchre in which its freedem is entombed.

I am glad to know that in all this, all will join with me. But for my own part, I am prepared to go stillfurther. Indoing so, however, I desire to be understood as uttering my own sentiments merely. I am the organ of the Common Council only so far as to respond in fitting terms to the sectiment just thered. Indeed, my position compels me to move in so centracted a circle, that I do not even know that my feelings will meet with a response from any considerable number of my countrymen. But they are buried deep in my heart, and I cannot withhold thoir utterance, leaving it to your intelligent and good sense, to give them such reception as you may deem then to merit at your hands.

The principle of non intervention is the affaire of other nations, has been a cardinal one with us from the organization of our Governmen. When first promulgated, it was emmently wise and necessary, for we were a feeble people, thinly scattered over a comparatively unsettled country, and "entangling alliences" might then have strangled our national existence in its misney, and have blotted out from among men the success of Freedom, which has since so overshadowed the earth.

But sixty years have rolled into the bosom of the north, t

tinde to God demand of us someting more than more tips service?

For my part I deeply feel, and am roady to seknowledge the ob igation which rests upon us as a people, free enough to be happy, wise enough to be discreet, yet full mighty to achieve. And I am prepared to see our century enforce upon others the policy of non-intervention to which we have been so faithful, and to proclaim despotism wherever it may be found, that as we do not interfere evan in behalf of struggling freedom, it shall not interfere to crush it.

or strugging freedom it shall not have seen or crush it.

It this policy is wise for us, it is equally wise for others. If we have been justifiable in resisting the cry for aid, which has once and again come up to as frem the down-trooden masses, it must be equally obligatory upon others to digregard the prayer for help to enslave and oppress.

help to enslave and oppress.

I have not adopted these views in unconscousness of the consequences that may follow. But I confess I do not anticipate that any warlike condict will ensue from their adoption.

The time has gone by when the sword alone settled the destinies of man. The purse and the pen are row the great instruments of us emancipation.

Think you, if the free nations of the earth should onte in urging upon governments the aloption of this policy, that any despot in Europe would have the hardificed to withstand it! How soon would the purse be emplied and the resources be exhausted that had hitherto depended for their strength upon subridies and loans from those free nations. How soon would the feeling of resistance which now slombers, but is not dead, amid the subjects of despotism be awakened to fearful action?

Thirk you if England and America, aye and France, if France should ever happen to be free, of which there is indeed some prospect—think you if they should unite, that they would not form the ceater of a great moral army, with its left wing resting on Sweden, and its right on flaty, before which desposition would wither and fall down?

The great conflict between freedom and despotism is yet to be determined, and come when it may, we cernot hope to escape being involved in it. How much wiser and more beneficial will it be for us, by accopting such a policy in due season, to give to it a moral rather than a physical character—a g remeator warguard of freedom, and proclaim, under her own austices, peace on earth and emacepation to man. The following toats were then read and honored. The Governor of the State of New-York.

The following toats were then read and nonored:
The Governor of the State of New-York.
Constitutional Precident—The triumph of privilege ever
prerigative. It finds its origin in the intelligence of the
people, its bulwark in the Judicia power.
The Press—The originized Voice of Preedom—It whispers hope to the oppressed, and thunders defiance at the
tyrant.
After the last toast had been read, Mr. H. J. Ray-

MOND rose to reply, having been appointed to that office by the Committee, when, what was the astosishment of the company at seeing Col. Wann, of The Courier and Enquirer, who last Spring insinu-ated, if he did not openly charge Kossuth with being accessory to muffler, standing up and endeavoring to make himself heard. This intrusion was warmly resented by the company, who loudly called for Mr. Raymond. The Chairman announced that Mr. Raymond had been appointed to speak; but still Raymond. Col. Webb kept standing and did not sit down nor

Raymond had been appointed to speak; but still Col. Webb kept standing and did not sit down nor refrain from trying to speak; till a member of the Committee of Arrangements came up and obliged him to take his seat, when Mr. Raymond went on to speak as follows:

Mr. Raymond proceeded to say that he rose simply to perform a duty which had been assigned to him, and he had pers sted in its performance from a habit of finishing whatever he undertook. He had merely, on behalf of the profession to which he had the honor to belong, to return thanks for the compiment which had just been paid it. High, though perhaps not wholly undeserved, as it was, it was needless for him to say that it derived ten-fold weight from its connection with that occasion. Men of all parties and professions, from all ranks and pursuits, had assembled to render a tribute of respect to the most illustrious statesman of the age—to the man who stood foremost among the champions of hierty of the present day. They had come to thank him for his services in the past, and so promise their sympathy, their hope and their aid for the struggle that was yet to come. [Cheers ] Nepresence was so fitting in which to declare the hospitality of the Press. We of the Press are proud to know that this illustrious champion of hiberty began his brilliant career as a member of the Press. We seel that it is not unbecoming in us here to exult in the recollection that it was through the press was hostile to tyrants. He know, as we know, that the compliment which had been paid to the Press was hostile to tyrants. He know, as we know, that the compliment which had been paid to the Press is just and true. [Cotter s]

Mr. R. said it had been Lis duty, as a working, member of the Press, to Salow the history of the member of the Press, to Salow the history of the member of the Press, to Salow the history of the member of the Press, to Salow the history of the member of the Press, to Salow the history of the member of the Press, to Salow the history of the member of the Press,

upon the deliverance of his country.

Judge Edmonds, as first Vice-President, responded to this toast in the following terms:

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I rise with undissembled pir usure to discharge the duty imposed